

l: Karsten--115

116, 252, 462

(1916-18) 1935

(1928-29)

Jivaro

"The Indians prepare their food either by boiling it in a clay pot or roasting it at the fire. The latter method is resorted to when the Indians are in camp, hunting, fishing, or working, and it is the only way of preparing food which is considered proper for a man. Boiling the food at home is exclusively a woman's business, the only things cooked by the men at home being the tobacco water and the weisa solution (prepared from the leaves of the Ilex), the nateima, and certain other magical medicines which according to their ritual can only be prepared by a man."

"The manioc is the most highly appreciated food, and it is difficult to see how the present-day Indian could do without this very nourishing root. They prepare the manioc either by boiling it in water or roasting it at the fire, the former method being by far the commonest. They also utilize the leaves of the manioc plant which are boiled in water, generally together with the leaves of another cultivated plant called sañgu. This kind of dish is known under the name nañmaka. Next to manioc in importance is the plantain of which there are many varieties, one being the sweet banana which is eaten raw. The kind of plantain which is most appreciated by the Indians is generally eaten green, being either boiled in water in the same way as the manioc, or roasted at the fire or in the ashes. Prepared in the latter way the plantain serves as bread and its taste somewhat reminds one of bread. Besides this 'green plantain', which is eaten in ordinary life, the Indians also eat 'ripe plantain' (tsaíma, tsamákma) either raw, boiled in water, or roasted. 'Ripe plantain' is considered indispensable at the great feasts, and one of the preparations for such a feast is that some bundles of [116] plantain are taken into the house and hung up at the roof about two weeks previously in order that they may have time to ripen.

The earth-nut is frequently eaten raw, but the Indians prepare a dish of roasted and pounded earth-nuts called michaka which is much appreciated. --Sweet potatoes, beans, and other cultivated vegetables are prepared by cooking in the same way as the manioc.

The only tree producing edible fruit cultivated by the Jibaros is the chontarufu palm (Guilielma), called ui by the Jibaros. Its extremely nourishing fruit ripens in February and March, and the Jibaros and the Canelos Indians appreciate it to such an extent that they reckon the beginning of the year from the ripening of the fruit of the chontaruru palm. This red apple-like fruit cannot be eaten raw and is always boiled in water, but although it certainly makes a most important and tasty food the Indians still more appreciate the fermented drink, the chontaruru-beer, which they prepare from it.

The virgin-forests of Western Amazonas produce very few edible fruits and the vegetable food they offer the natives, apart from the plants cultivated, is therefore insignificant. The most important is the palm cabbage which really plays a definite part in the economic life of the Indians. It is obtained either from the top of the young tarapoto palm, called tingimi by the Jibaros, or from the top of another palm called ihu. The palm cabbage is rich in oil, and when boiled in a little water yields a very tasty and nourishing soup; but it can also be eaten raw. During their wanderings in the forest the natives frequently have recourse to this vegetable food, so easily obtained, especially when other stores of food have been exhausted, and on certain occasions, when the Indian has to diet and to abstain from other kinds of food, he is allowed to eat ihu or tingimi."

"About 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the same day the important action takes place which the Jibaros call Cuichi achiktahei matinyu, i. e. 'the slaughter of the swine'.

According to the ritual of the feast, the ceremonial slaughtering of the swine takes place during the night preceding the last day of the feast, or more strictly speaking shortly after midnight, 'when the cocks crow for the first time,' and the new day is supposed to begin. This hour is generally about 1 o'clock in the morning. Since it is, however, difficult both to slaughter a number of swine and to cook their flesh within a short time, the matter is mostly practically arranged so that the slaughtering of the animals takes place on the afternoon of the day before, whereas the cooking of the flesh is done at midnight. That the flesh should be cooked at midnight is considered absolutely necessary, for only in this case will the purpose of the whole slaughtering ceremony, the plentiful increase of the swine for the future, be attained. When the flesh of the animals killed is cooked early in the morning, at the first beginning of the new day, this will have as its consequence that henceforward there will be plenty of swine's flesh in the house of the slayer. The same holds good of the hens, which are likewise slaughtered and cooked during the first hours of the new day; but they naturally are of less importance than the swine.

As has been mentioned before, the swine to be slaughtered at a feast have been procured long before, when the first preparations for the feast began; and they are bred and fed with special care. The victor himself has supervised the rearing of these animals,

giving the proper women instructions which he himself has received directly from the wakáni, the spirit of the killed enemy materialized in the tsantsa, over whom he has acquired complete domination. The number of the swine to be slaughtered at a feast is not exactly fixed in the beginning. Generally a few [358] more are procured and bred than are supposed to be needed for the purpose. Moreover, for the propagation of the race it is necessary that at least a couple should be left alive. When the time for the great feast is approaching, the victor himself decides which of the swine are to be slaughtered and in what order it is to be done. Even respecting these details he receives advice directly from the wakáni, when, with the tsantsa hanging round his neck, he goes out into the swine yard and 'points out' the animals (kuchi anéikama). These swine having been slaughtered in due order and their flesh consumed at the feast, the few remaining ones will increase in number all the more. This is the main idea which the Jibaros connect with the ceremonial slaughter of domestic animals at their feasts.

For a feast at which I was present 11 or 12 swine had been bred, of which 9 were slaughtered, 2 during the first day of the feast and 7 on the day of the ceremonial slaughter proper.

According to the ritual, the slaughtering should be done by some of the invited guests specially selected for this purpose. The host or his household must not touch them on

any account, for then the object of the whole ceremony would be missed, inasmuch as the remaining swine would not increase. The slaughter takes place outside the house, but the animals are not all killed on the same spot but one here and another there, close to the different walls of the house. In this way the impression is produced that the swine killed and eaten at the feast are very numerous, and the effect of this will be that they will really be numerous in future.

The animals, according to an old Jibaro custom, are killed by strangulation, without the shedding of blood. A rope twisted of lianas is tied round the neck of the swine, and a strong stick is stuck under it, the strangulation being brought by about twisting it. As the animals are thus killed they are carried into the house, where some pots with hot water stand ready. The skin is scalded with the hot water, and the hair is scraped off, whereupon the stomach is opened and the flesh cut in the ordinary way.

Of the flesh the priest and priestess receive each one leg as a part of the payment for their services at the feast. The rest of it, with the exception of the heads and the bones, is kept on special shelves until midnight, when it is cooked. The head and the bones, again, are roasted and kept until the day of the departure of the guests, being then divided among them.

When darkness sets in the dance Hantsēmáta, as usual, commences [359] and is continued, with two intervals, until dawn. The first of these intervals occurs at about

10 o'clock in the evening, when the distilled manioc-wine is made definitely ready. The clay pot containing the roasted and masticated manioc substance which, during the first day of the feast, had been arranged for the distillation of the drink is moved forward and placed on the ground. The priest, proceeding with the utmost care, removes the kachini and apai leaves with which the masticated substance had been covered. Then he removes the manioc substance itself with the same care, laying it in another vessel. Finally, in the same way, he removes the apai leaves which had been laid on the shuya sticks collected in the pot, as well as the shuya sticks themselves, which together with the leaves are laid on a special large leaf. The dark-brown essence which has remained in the bottom of the pot is the manioc-wine (sangúcha shiki). The priest asks for another smaller clay pot and for a gourd, which are given him by the women. Then he pours the whole quantity of wine into the new clay vessel, and also a little into the gourd. The gourd is then placed over the mouth of the clay pot so that it [sic] covers it, and the gourd is covered with leaves. The whole thing is thereafter kept in a special place until the following morning, when the drink will be consumed.

This work being finished, the dance Hantaēmāta is continued until about 1 o'clock in the morning, when the cocks are heard crowing, and the host declares it to be the right time to cook the flesh of the swine slaughtered. Various fires have previously been

1: Karsten--357-359

116, 727, 252

(1916-18) 1935

(1928-29)

Jivaro-9

kindled in different parts of the house, large clay pots are placed upon them, and the flesh is divided up among the pots. At the same time a number of hens are killed by wringing their necks; these are plucked and prepared on the spot, their flesh being cooked in special pots. While the cooking goes on the Indians dance the Hantsemáta with more vigour than usual, all men and women taking part in it. After the flesh is boiled the pots are removed from the fires, put aside, and kept until morning. It is not until then that the flesh cooked can be eaten, namely, at the common banquet following the last ceremony of the feast, the dressing of the victor.

The dance, as usual, is continued until dawn, when it is finished with the customary bath in the river."

2: Stirling--91 [2]

116, 252, 574

(1930-1931) 1938

Jivaro

"The women cook in the houses by placing the pots over one of the several fires, the pots generally resting on the ends of the burning logs. The women and girls when in the house constantly chew manioc which they spit in large juicy mouthfuls into one of the big jars placed in front of them for that purpose. Whenever a man enters the house he is at once served with nijimanche by the women and of course it is always offered to a guest who must drink it or else risk offending his host."

"Bananas and plantains, as is customary in the region of the eastern Andes, are seldom permitted to ripen. When the fruit is mature the bunches are picked. The bananas or plantains are first peeled and then either boiled while green or roasted in the coals of the fire. The Indians prefer it in this mealy and tasteless fashion rather than in the form of ripened fruit."

"Ranged round the walls are the 'fireplaces'--mere piles of embers without even a hole in the ground--with the grids placed over them. Each wife has her own, on which she does what cooking she is ordered to do. Piled neatly round the fireplaces are the earthenware pots of various sizes and shapes, all with cone-shaped bottoms, the largest the giamanchi containers, which are about four feet in height, with narrow necks and a maximum diameter of three feet. These gigantic vessels are fashioned without the aid of anything resembling a potter's wheel; ropes of clay are rolled in the hands, and the sides of the pot are gradually built up from the ground, the joints being filled in and rubbed smooth until the whole is as perfect in shape, as far as the eye can see, as a modern piece. After being sun-dried they are baked hard in the fire. They are never painted with any design, a practice common among primitive potters."

"That afternoon we dropped some two dozen cotos, only three of which fell to my rifle. The condition of these three caused the Jívaros furiously to think, for they were shot to pieces, and were indeed an ugly mess. We packed them back to the bank, tied by their tails in bunches of four, and carried slung over the head. The game was dipped in the river to moisten their hair. A brushwood fire was built to singe them as they hung by their tails from a pole, which stretched the whole length of the blaze. As the muscles contracted with the heat, a gruesome spectacle presented itself, for their limbs moved, they clenched their hands, and their faces were distorted with an ugly grin which exposed their regular teeth. When singed all over, they were taken from the fire and scraped with machetes. There is only one word to describe the portions of meat which were hacked off--hunks. Regardless of joints or bones, they were chopped up by the savages, who had never known any better instrument than the stone-axe; the pieces were thrown into the boiling-pots, still half-covered with burnt hair which the hasty scraping had missed. For twenty minutes they cooked, emitting an unspeakable odour which was as welcome to the Antipas as that of breakfast bacon to the hungry white hunter.

I have omitted to mention what is always the tid-bit of such feasts. Before the singeing and cooking of the animals begin, they must of course be cleaned. (When meat is scarce, nothing is thrown away but the bones; even the guts are scraped and toasted.) The contents of the stomach are extracted and mixed like giamanchi, with water. Then without any further ado [229] they are drunk. At first the very idea is repulsive, but

4: Up de Graff--228-229

(1897) 1923

Jivaro-2

116, 252, 262

after all, the monkey lives on fresh wild fruits and his inside is a [sic] clean as ours. He has merely started the process of peptonisation and digestion for us, which saves us trouble. "I was expecting, when first I tasted this delicacy, to find a trace of bitter gastric juices, but was pleasantly surprised; only the pure flavour of the fruit-pulp was there, and it made an excellent drink."

"Their [KS: electric eel] peculiar internal organism makes it possible to prepare them for eating by simply slicing them as one does a loaf of bread, no cleaning being necessary. Their meat is pure white and firm, and they make an excellent dish when fried. In this respect they are superior to the rays of which we also caught many."

12: Rivet--590-591

(no date) 1907

Jivaro

116, 262, 252

The diet of the Jibaro consists of manioc, maize, bananas, and game, which they keep in certain leaves which preserve them from decay, and of fish which they are able to smoke. Only the wild hog is esteemed. The domestic hog is most often raised for commercial purposes; the majority of Indians do not [591] eat its flesh because they consider it a dirty animal.

18: Hermecoen--443 [2]

(No date) 1917

Jivaro

126, 252

"Yucca and plantains were mostly eaten boiled." 6

25: Vigna--42
116, 252, 262

(no date) 1945

Jivaro

The principal foods of the Jivaro are: yuca, banana, green ear of maize, sweet potato, and the flesh of hogs, monkeys, bears and birds. Frogs wrapped in leaves and roasted slowly in live coals are eaten with relish.

There is a great variety of wild-growing edible plants, and it would be of great help to the traveller in the primeval forests of the upper Marañón if he would know these plants, for he is frequently forced by circumstances to make use of the prevailing flora. With what keen appetite have we not often devoured some inconspicuous fruit which the Indians designated as edible! Hunger is always one of the most formidable enemies for travellers in this region of the globe. During my short stay with the Aguaruna Indians I learned to know as edible the tender shoots of two palm trees. The names of these palms were tantaim and wyáy. In order to reach this food one has to cut the entire tree (which brought anguish to my soul, but hunger is all powerful). These shoots are eaten raw or cooked in water. If you cook the shoots, you may drink the water as soup. The taste was similar to that of white cabbage.

I noticed that all dishes are prepared without salt. But when the cooked food is served, a piece of salt is always served with it. In the case of a liquid dish, the Indian places the salt between two fingers and stirs it into the dish, so that a little of the salt can dissolve. Otherwise they bring the salt to the mouth from time to time, or they lick on it. Salt is a very scarce commodity on Aguaruna territory. They obtain it from the upper Marañón where there are said to be some salty brooks. The salt remains as a dirty ash-colored sediment when they laboriously boil the water down in large pots. In Aguaruna language salt is called wig.

As pointed out before, in front of each bed there is a fireplace, consisting of round logs of a special wood. These logs have an identical diameter, and they are placed in star formation, like this | They are also used as support for the cooking pot. I had the impression that the / \ major part of their food was cooked in water. I have also noticed that their meat is wrapped in large fresh plant leaves and placed on the fire. In this manner the meat remains juicy. On the other hand, meat is sometimes directly placed on glowing charcoal, without having been wrapped first; this is the way it is frequently done here on the coast.

28: Tessman--353 [2]
116, 263, 252

(No date) 1930

Jivaro

There are two kinds of salt. One is called wuñi by the Atschual Indians and wñi by the-
by the Aguarunas; it is obtained from a salt lake on the Nieva. The other salt (katsi) is
obtained from salt rocks which are found along the Apaga. Salt is not mixed into the
food during eating; rather they make paste by mixing salt, Capsicum pepper (híma in
Aguaruna, himia in the Atschual language) and atšámpi and eat the paste while they eat
their food.

28: Tessman--353 [3]

116, 252, 412

(No date) 1930

Jivaro

To grind the Indian corn they use a stone chopping knife (like 'M. O. G.', p. 166, Fig. 14) on a wooden board. They do not prepare any manihot flakes. They have tubular vessels with pestles.

SHELTER, SUBSISTENCE, AND TECHNOLOGY

53

574

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462

512

[252]

[283]

serves him and an overnight male visitor by the light of a burning copal torch. Then she returns to her end of the house and boils plantains and manioc. She then gives each person a serving bowl of this food. Her husband, meanwhile, has been spinning cotton yarn and talking quietly with the male visitor. The wife brings more beer and serves it.

She goes back to her end of the house and remains seated and resting by the fire for about half an hour. Then she returns, bringing more beer. Since the men do not immediately finish the beer, she stays crouching by the side of her husband, listening to the conversation (she has just eaten a little bit of manioc herself in the women's end of the house). She returns there, remains approximately half an hour, and then brings beer again. She goes back to her end of the house again for about another half hour, and then returns with more beer. This time she stays to chat a bit with her husband and then goes back to her area. It is now almost dawn.

[224] The husband calls out to his wife to bring beer. She carries in a large pot of beer and serves continually from it until dawn. He then informs her that he is going hunting, and puts beer in his calabash canteen, takes some boiled manioc in a net bag, and his gun, and sets off with his wife and hunting dogs. The children stay at home.

[224] They return home from the hunt at about 2 P.M., having killed an agouti. As soon as they arrive, the man asks his wife to bring [252] him beer, which she does. Then he butchers the agouti and she boils it in a pot. When it is cooked, she brings the pot to the middle of the house and takes out all the meat, placing it on fresh banana leaves. She calls the men to come and eat. They arise, picking up their stools, and move to the banana leaves. Then all the children come and squat around them. The wife gives one piece of meat to each child, and a separate serving bowl of meat to the male visitor.

When all is eaten, the men get up and return with their stools to where they were sitting before. They rinse their mouths

279 and plantains around it. She supports the basket with a tumpline
 462 over the forehead, carries an empty cooking pot in her right
 512 hand, a firebrand in her left hand, and the axe under her arm.
 313 Leaving the children in the house, she sets forth down the trail
 with her husband, who carries only his gun and his machete.

[482] When they arrive at the spot where trees are to be felled, she
 fetches wood, makes a fire, and cooks manioc. Her husband
 starts felling trees. After about two hours he calls for beer. He
 drinks two or three gourd bowls full and continues working.
 In about another hour he calls for beer again and drinks a similar
 • [252] amount. He tells his wife to cook meat and continues working.
 Around noon he goes to where she has been cooking, and asks
 [252] for beer, drinking three gourd bowls full. She serves boiled
 [262] meat, putting it, with boiled manioc and roasted plantains, on
 fresh banana leaves. When they finish eating, he drinks beer
 again, and returns to his work. He fells trees for about an hour,
 comes back and drinks more beer.

* Then they return home. When they arrive, he sits down on his
 [606] stool and asks for beer. At about 2 P.M., his daughter and son-in-
 law, who live a few hundred yards away, drop by and join in
 drinking beer. They all begin to social-dance and, since there is
 [535] ample beer brewed, they continue drinking and dancing all
 afternoon and late into the night. They drink beer continually
 [262] and do not bother to prepare or eat any food. The children
 [855] drink beer, too, and munch on cold boiled manioc. By about
 [606] 3 A.M., everyone has fallen asleep, the daughter and son-in-law
 staying overnight in the house. They all sleep until early the
 next afternoon, when they eat.

224 Hunting is the chief source of protein, and is more impor-
 [146] tant to the food supply than fishing or gathering, contributing
 an estimated 20 per cent of the diet. A great diversity of
 [222] botanical and zoological species exists in this region,² but this
 [136] variety is typically accompanied by low density of popula-
 [222] tion for any particular species. This low density sometimes
 [136]

of insects and fruits, shoots and leaves constitute the main kinds of gathered foods. 222

Insects particularly are relished as food items, both in larval and mature forms. The rotten cores of fallen chonta palms are cut open to collect cocoons of two kinds of edible grubs (*mukintu*, *čarandam*), and the ivory nut palm often yields larvae of a large moth (*wampay*). Cocoons containing grubs of the butterfly *tampirulä* are removed from hanging vines. Leaf-eating ants (*aiyayü*) and a kind of grasshopper (*tsampentä*) also are collected. [261]

The various species of palms are the most important source of wild plant food. The chonta (*Guilielma utilis*), royal, and other palms (*kinak*, *kuakai*, *ampakai*, *tirintä*) are chopped down with machetes to obtain their edible tips. Except for the *ampakai*, these palms (together with the ivory nut palm and *kumai*) also supply an annual harvest of large clusters of edible fruits, which are both eaten boiled and made into beer. Frequently young tender leaves are collected from other plants (*tuntä*, *tučjnc*, *ipü*, *wamat*), but no wild roots are dug up for food. Generally, the only tool used in all these gathering activities is the machete. [262] • [252] [273] [262]

Virtually all families raise chickens, some also raise ducks, and a very few keep pigs. A household's pigs are allowed to wander relatively freely in the adjacent forest to feed. If they start rooting in the garden, a low rail fence may be built around it to keep them out. Neighbors' pigs never seem to threaten the garden, because of the long distances between houses and the small numbers of pigs kept. 231 [235] [417]

Chickens, ducks, and their eggs are utilized for food, especially to feed visitors when no game is on hand. In the uncommon cases where pigs are kept, the family usually is planning a *tsantsa* feast and intends to slaughter the pigs to 262 574 765 [235] [231]

54 SHELTER, SUBSISTENCE, AND TECHNOLOGY

tained, both for personal amusement and for trade to the western or frontier Jivaro to obtain steel machetes, axe-heads, firearms, and ammunition. 231 439

Technology and Crafts

No single tool can be considered more ubiquitous in Jivaro life than the machete. The machete is the sole garden weeding implement as well as the only tool used for digging up root crops including the staple food, sweet manioc. It is used for woodworking, to dig clay for pottery, to prepare foods and to cut hair, and it is used to fell even the largest tree, although the less common steel axe is preferred for this task when it is available. 412 [244] 322 323 252 302 313

Machetes are of two types: the more plentiful *hapa mañit* ("deer machete"), of Ecuadorian manufacture, which was formerly obtained at Macas in exchange for one deer carcass; and the *kayent mañit* (Collins machete), of North American manufacture and preferred by the Jivaro because of its superior efficiency. The *hapa mañit* was introduced first, the Collins implement not reaching the Jivaro until about 1941. During the past few decades, large single-bitted steel axe heads have also been introduced in significant numbers by means of a system of Jivaro trading partners. Such axes are still far less plentiful than machetes, but in great demand because of their superiority over machetes in felling trees. Iron adze blades, which were apparently introduced about the same time as machetes, are possessed by only a very few individuals, but are in demand for finishing canoes and stools. All the types of steel tools are mainly obtained by trade from the western or frontier Jivaro of the Río Upano Valley. 412 439 197 313 322 352 501

As machetes become worn through years of continual use 412

412 and lose their handles, they are relegated to purely culinary tasks. The steel blades are so highly valued, however, that they continue to be used even when worn down to mere stubs. Such stubs are broken into small triangular pieces and then used as knives for whittling blowgun darts and for performing other small cutting jobs. Wooden objects made with the machete are characteristically simple but well made, although 322 a few carved embellishments resembling reptile heads may be 532 seen as the handles of stools and mortar boards, and as the tips of house posts and the prows of dugout canoes.

321 The machete is the basic tool used in manufacturing ob-
[534] jects from bone and the shells of large land snails, the latter material being utilized primarily for women's dance belt rattles. Bone work is limited to making needles from monkey [413] leg bones and carving gunpowder containers of cows' horns [415] traded from the frontier Jivaro. [399]

412 Non-ferrous cutting tools are nowadays only rarely em-
[844] ployed. A sharp-edged strip of bamboo is used to cut the [244] umbilicus of a new-born infant; and sometimes a hardwood weed-cutting "machete" is used in garden work when there is no steel one available. Otherwise steel tools dominate the processing of materials.

413 The tip of a machete or machete fragment serves as a
[294] boring tool, awls being unknown. Men sew the fringes of [415] garments and make knotless netting bags with the aid of monkey bone needles. A few possess large steel needles for the same purposes. Women use bone or steel needles, or a frag- [291] ment of a blowgun dart, to pin their dresses (*tarači*) over [294] one shoulder (see Plate 4).

415 Wooden mortar boards and pestles are utilized in mashing
[252] the fruit of the chonta palm to prepare a special beer, to mash [273] peanuts, and to crush a mixture of salt and hot pepper (see [235] Plate 7). The same wooden board is used with a crude rocker-